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ABSTRACT

At present, there are at least 13 major federal laws and at least 439 separate statutory authorities regulating various aspects of college and university behavior. In addition, various state coordinating and governing boards are making increasing demands for data from the campuses and are ordering colleges to drop high cost and/or low enrollment programs, to retrench, and to freeze salaries, construction, and other major budget items. The resulting centralized management is destroying the democratic philosophy of institutions of American higher education and is having an adverse impact on students, as well as teachers and administrators. The accountability movement focuses on intermediate mechanisms and processes, without considering the basic goal of higher education, which is to provide direction and cohesiveness for young people. If students are, as they have so often been told, the future of this country, they must become full partners in the adventure of learning. Moreover, if education is for students, rather than for the politicians, accountability must begin to focus on the quality of education, rather than on those aspects susceptible to quantitative measurement. In short, our institutions of higher education will be irreparably damaged if governments, rather than the students, teachers, and administrators, continue to dictate their course. (DC)

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ACCOUNTABILITY OVERKILL

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ACCOUNTABILITY OVERKILL

THE SCENE

There is little doubt that higher education is rapidly changing these days. Where is it going, how is it changing, who is in charge are questions which seem to have no answers; at least it appears that way on the campuses. It is extremely difficult to describe the climate in higher education today. The series of snapshots below have been developed from actual instances. Taken together, they present a picture of higher education in turbulence which detracts considerably from their primary purpose--education.

SNAPSHOT 1 A small campus, known in the past for its informality. A student recognizes the academic dean walking across campus and approaches the dean.

Student: Dean, I need to talk to you about a problem in one of my classes. I've talked to the instructor and we don't seem to be able to resolve the problem.

Dean: I'm sorry, I really don't have the time. I'm working on two lengthy reports for the State and I'm going to be off campus for a few days attending a meeting on some new regulations affecting the College. Why don't you talk to your advisor and see if he can help.

SNAPSHOT 2 A large state university, a graduate program

Graduate Student: May I please have a sheet of letterhead stationery?

Secretary: No, I'm not allowed to give out paper to students anymore.

Graduate Student: But, I need it for a class project.

Secretary: I'm sorry.

Graduate Student goes to the professor, a highly paid specialist, and the two of them return to the secretary's desk.

Professor: Please give John a sheet of letterhead stationery.

Secretary: I'm sorry, I have orders from the department chairman not to give out any paper, except as approved by him. You know paper costs have soared in the past year and we must reduce the amount of paper we use.

SNAPSHOT 3 Liberal arts college

Student: Professor Black, I don't see you around much this year. I miss our talks. You used to spend some time in the college center with the students. Don't you like us anymore?

Professor: Yes, Mike, I do like you and I've missed our talks, but as you know the college has some serious financial problems and one effect of that has been that I have many more students in my classes this year and I'm working on a couple of committees to see what we can do to keep the college open.

SNAPSHOT 4 Financial aid office of a college

Student: I understand you have cut my financial aid?

Director of Financial Aid: Yes, but - - -

The student storms out of the office. Two weeks later the financial aid director receives a call from a financial aid specialist in a regional government office.

Specialist: I understand from your state senator that you cut Suzie Curl's financial aid.

Director: Yes, that's true, she dropped to part-time status with only six hours this semester.

Specialist: Oh. Well, would you mind documenting that and send the information to me so I can forward it to the senator.

SNAPSHOT 5 Large academic department meeting of a medium sized college

Department Chairperson: We have as our task today the development of an outline of our accountability plan for teaching in the department. I hope the consultant we had in last week was of some help.

Faculty member: Some of us have talked about this and have some feelings about this business. During the past five years, we have increased our class size by 50%, taken on additional duties, had our salaries frozen for the past three years, had

all overloads cancelled and had almost all travel funds cut. Now you want us to be accountable. We think it is inappropriate to talk about accountability until we talk about salary, fringe benefits, and a more equitable teaching load.

SNAPSHOT 6 A small college. The faculty senate, working from a regressive budgeting position with regard to salary over the past six years, have chosen to make an all out push to try for a more equitable salary schedule. Tensions have run high between faculty and administration. The faculty senate present their position to the board and feel no support. They forward the letter below to the college president.

Faculty Senate letter

David Steward in The Chronicle of Higher Education, February 17, 1976, suggests that "...college implies collegiality, a process whereby scholars are united in an institutionalized framework to pursue their disciplines and, by implication, to share in the governance of the institution." Further in the article he states, "Like it or not, the American college more nearly resembles a factory than a community of scholars." We concur with Stewart's definition and with his analysis. Collegiality does not exist at the College. Our "jobs" are regarded by this administration as peripheral to the operation of the College. Most assuredly we are not, with any serious intent, called upon to share in the governance of this institution. The actions of this administration over the past several years clearly indicate that it is diametrically opposed to collegiality both in principle and in practice. This administration has acted systematically and concertedly to destroy even the vestiges of faculty governance. It has chosen not to solicit faculty input and to ignore or contradict such input as has been offered. Recently, its actions have been such as to destroy even the opportunity of the faculty to assemble and, without fear of retribution, freely discuss topics of mutual concern.

In light of the above, not wishing any longer to participate in a farce, or seemingly to validate the hypocrisy of collegiality on this campus, this Association resolves to disband, and in so doing to dissolve the Faculty Senate. Effective on the date of the publication of the minutes of this meeting, subject to the provisions of Article 5, Section D, of the Faculty Association Constitution, this Association will cease to exist.

We take this action, the only viable option open to us short of resigning our "jobs" as a clear expression of the extremely low

morale of the faculty and the absence of collegiality on this campus. It is our considered opinion that the pretense of faculty governance is more destructive than an institutional framework which is known to be autocratic. Pretense leads to frustration and disillusionment, while a clearly stated autocracy provides membership with the rational choice of living under its rule or of dissociating from it.

SNAPSHOT 7 A medium sized state college. The president rises at the beginning of a meeting of local and state politicians, educators, and agency representatives. He is noticeably embarrassed.

President: I welcome you to our college. We are happy you are here even though we are not behaving very hospitably. We had hoped to have coffee and donuts, but since this meeting was called two weeks ago and it take thirty days for approval on a state requisition, we have no coffee for you.

SNAPSHOT 8 "In Brief," Chronicle of Higher Education March 29, 1976, p. 2

Law Students Seek Open Faculty Meetings

Law students at the University of California at Berkeley have filed a suit attempting to open up faculty meetings to the public.

The students claim that a California open-meeting statute, which requires the board of regents to conduct its business in public, also applies to meetings of the faculty. The professors argue that the law does not apply to a sub-agency of the board.

SNAPSHOT 9 A community college. The previous year, the dean of Occupation Programs had his job restructured to a directorship reporting to the dean of instruction. He now discovers his position is not in the new budget and requests a meeting with the president.

Director: Why does my position not appear in next year's budget?

President: I am recommending to the board that it be abolished.

Director: What am I supposed to do?

President: I suppose you had best look for a new job if the board approves the budget.

SNAPSHOT 10 Medium sized university. A student, who is a senior, talking to a counselor.

Student: I'm not sure if it's me or the university which has changed, but when I first came here, it seemed like there was always a lot going on, people here seemed to like what they were doing, the campus seemed friendly. Now, and I'll admit, it might just be me getting older and more pessimistic, but people seem unhappy. Are they?

Counselor: Well Bill, I think things have changed a lot in the last three and one-half years. The university has been on an austere budget since the end of your freshman year.

Student: But what does that have to do with anything? If people like what they're doing. You know--if they like teaching, like people, like the university life, why should the university's money problems worry them?

Counselor: It isn't that simple. You see the university is a labor intensive organization and just the effect of inflation over the past three years is creating a three percent loss in constant dollars. Thus, the salaries of the staff are seriously effected, because they make up approximately 78% of the budget.

Student: I'm not sure I understand what all that has to do with what is happening to the way things used to be at the university.

Counselor: If you were teaching here and were being paid approximately \$15,000.00 for teaching four classes of approximately 18 students each, and three years later you were making \$16,000.00, but because of inflation it was really only about \$13,500.00 and you were now teaching four classes with 25 students in each and being asked to advise in quite a formal way about 50 students, how would you feel?

Student: But why doesn't someone do something about that? I guess I would be pretty grumpy and wouldn't spend very much time on campus--and--I see--that's why things are the way they are.

The ten snapshots above provide a different view of the "landscape" in higher education than is generally available from the literature currently. Most of the literature presents demographic, income-outcome, and trend data that provide no feel for the quality of life on campus. Currently no stable

measures of the human dimension of higher education exists. Some would argue that isn't that important. Mayhew has said, "Colleges and universities are not churches, clinics, nor even parents. They are devices by which a limited number of skills, insights, and points of view are communicated to the young in the belief that possession of these somehow aids the individual to become a more skilled worker." (Chickering, 3) Another way of looking at higher education is posed by Chickering. "... colleges and universities will be educationally effective only if they reach students 'where they live,' only if they connect significantly with those concerns of central importance to their students." (Chickering, p. 3) He further suggests, "If persons not products are to be primary, if the people, not the interplay of disparate, conflicting, uncoordinated systems and pressures, are to control the future, then higher education must devote itself to men, not subjects." (Chickering, p. 345)

There are many who would say that education's problems can be solved by focusing only upon a part of Chickering's statement, i.e.; by constructing unified, integrated, coordinated systems. This still leaves out the "product" of education--the student. That "product," unlike so many other types of products, often has some things to say about "the system." Further, if education is viewed as a human enterprise, then one cannot escape the implications of planning for others lives. Abraham Maslow, after spending his life studying healthy human beings, said:

I am talking about ends: This is a revolutionary repudiation of the 19th-century science and contemporary professional philosophy, which is essentially a technology and not a philosophy of ends. I reject thereby, as theories of human nature, positivism, behaviorism, and objectivism. I reject thereby the whole model of science, and all its works derived from the historical accident that science began with the study of nonpersonal, nonhuman things that in fact had no ends. The development of physics, astronomy, mechanics, and chemistry was impossible until they had become value-free, value-neutral, so that pure descriptiveness was possible. The great mistake that we are now

learning about is that this model, developed from the study of objects and of things, has been illegitimately used for the study of human beings. It is terrible technique. It has not worked.

(Maslow, p. 29 & 30)

The development of systems for the coordination of human service institutions is at another level of abstraction than the direct application of objective models to the study of man that Maslow referred to. Yet to think that a system designed to coordinate the input and output of people can be implemented without dramatically altering the attitudes of those affected by the system is naive. The snapshots earlier provide clues to the impact of external pressures upon education.

Many currents running through education today can be subsumed under the rather broad and often misleading caption of accountability. Federal, state, and local legislation and regulations are passed on to education in the name of accountability. Efficiency, cost effectiveness, planning, budgeting, allocation formulas, legal responsibility, social reform, and curricular change are all pushed in the name of accountability. To the title of David Henry's article, "Accountability: To Whom, For What, by What Means?" might be added, "and can we afford it?" President John G. Kemeny of Dartmouth College is quoted in the March 14, 1975 edition of the Intercollegiate Press Bulletin as saying, "It is ironic that at the very time when the government is withholding more and more funds from educational institutions as part of its own austerity, it is also saddling these same institutions with more and more costly regulations." Kemeny refers to one college which has sustained a seven-fold increase in personnel costs mostly attributable government regulatory powers.

In brief, what is the effect of the accountability movement on higher education? Can the many sub-aspects of accountability be imposed without radically altering what is often referred to as the "college experience"?

Is accountability primarily a mask for cost cutting in a down economy? Is the long range impact of accountability to remove the control of the campuses to the state and federal level? Is accountability a publicly acceptable label for the social reform of higher education; specifically, to impose equality of opportunity, career education, and to temper academic freedom with social responsibility? These are some of the questions to be explored in this paper.

PAST ROOTS OF THE SCENE

FEDERAL LEVEL

It is popularly said in education that the more public dollars used for support, the greater government's control of education will be. Education is conceived of constitutionally as a state responsibility, but the federal government has been involved as far back as the Northwest Ordinance of 1781 that declared, "the means of education shall forever be encourage." (Henderson & Henderson, p. 238) The Morrill Act of 1862 was a huge federal intervention into higher education by creating the means for public state colleges in agriculture and the mechanical arts. But it was not until after WWII that the pace of federal involvement quickened. The G.I. bill brought thousands of returning veterans to higher education with some loosely controlled regulations pertaining to accreditation of programs. Then on October 4, 1957, the Russians announced to the world that their Sputnik had been put into orbit. The American people were shocked, the government embarrassed and education blamed. President Eisenhower spoke to the nation saying the Soviets were producing more scientists than America. America proved its ability to mobilize its forces under threat of "attack" by the implementation of the massive National Defense Act of 1958.

"In January of 1958, President Eisenhower sent to Congress a program providing one billion dollars over four years to improve the teaching of mathematics, science, and languages; to encourage

more able students to study them; and to assist the needy ones through scholarships and fellowships. With the scholarships deleted and a loyalty oath added, this became the National Defense Education Act of 1958." (Moynihan in American Higher Education: toward an Uncertain Future., Vol. II, p. 132)

If Eisenhower is known as the President of educational excellence, then Kennedy and Johnson would have to be known as the Presidents of equality. In 1963 President Kennedy pushed for legislation to enable colleges to provide student work jobs of an educational nature. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 contained the work study program. There are now thirteen major pieces of legislation governing various aspects of college and university behavior.

1. Minimum Wage
Wage and Hour Law: The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (FLSA).
2. Equal Pay Act of 1963.
3. Equal Employment Opportunity
Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended.
4. Affirmative Action
Executive Order-11246, as amended, issued in 1965, amended to include discrimination on basis of sex, 1967.
5. Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, as amended.
6. Unemployment Insurance
Social Security Act--Employment Security Amendments--1970.
7. Social Security Tax Increases
Social Security Act--Employment Security Amendments--1970.
8. Wage and Salary Controls
Economic Stabilization Act of 1970.
9. The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.
10. Environmental Protection
Regulations implemented under several laws by the Environmental Protection Agency.

11. Benefits--Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973.
12. Pensions--(Note: Public institutions excluded) Employment Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA).

(order rearranged, Bonham, p. 12)

A thirteen can now be added to the above list.

13. Sex Discrimination
Title IX, Education Amendment Act of 1972.

In addition to the regulatory requirements above, a very powerful impact was made by the 1972 educational amendments "free market" approach to financial aid to enhance access and equal opportunity. Additionally, the 1972 amendments and the following allocation process were as significant for what they did not do as what they did. They reduced dramatically the amount of categorical aid available to colleges. This has had a tremendously adverse affect on colleges and universities around the country.

Another way of seeing the inroads into higher education is by looking at the cumulative effect of legislation in this area. The American Law Division of the Library of Congress reported 439 separate statutory authorities affecting postsecondary education in 1975. There are more than 35 agencies and "70 subcommittees (out of over 200 in Congress) that have some jurisdiction over the 439 program authorities." (Andringa, p. 28)

STATE LEVEL

The state has historically had the major support responsibility for public higher education. As higher education grew by more than one new campus per week in the sixties and student disruptions seemed to indicate that no one was in control, states began to develop and strengthen state coordinating and governing boards. The 1202 commissions part of the 1972 federal education amendments

gave impetus to this rapidly developing phenomena. The doubled edged economy of recession and inflation added fuel to the fire by throwing all state agencies and institutions into fierce competition for dollars. In the wake, more and more demands came for data from the campuses--reports, projections, needs analyses, pre and post audits, justifications for every new expenditure. In addition, there were orders to drop high cost and/or low enrollment programs, orders to retrench, orders to freeze salaries, construction, and other major account levels, and demands to justify what was being done.

LOCAL LEVEL

Following the Nixon Administration's revenue sharing must have been control sharing. Local governments who had any jurisdiction, such as in community colleges and local governing boards seemed to join the state and national movement to demand that higher education get its house in order. The climate of "... since the carrot has not worked for academic institutions, the stick remains the only alternative" seems to be pervasive. (Bonham, p. 12)

THE COLLEGES

Many say the colleges have brought all this on themselves. If they never accepted federal money; if they had controlled their faculties and students during the sixties; if they had not begun to try to be all things to all people; if they had retained their standards; if they had worked cooperatively together; if they had been more cost conscious and efficient; if they had done the needed research, evaluation, and planning so sorely needed for higher education over the years; if they had not begun to introduce "frills" in the curricula and research functions; if their administrators had been more competent, better leaders, and more responsive to their publics; if the faculty had been more relevant, stimulating, and committed; if the boards had done their job; if---; if---; if---. Some of all of it is probably true. The "Monday morning

quarterbacks" are everywhere criticizing what should have been done. Now, many tell educational leaders what should have been done to stem the tide. Daniel Moynihan has said, "... unless higher education takes a more active part in shaping national educational policy, interests of the first order will be jeopardized or lost." (American Higher Ed.: toward An Uncertain Future, p. 128) Is it too late?

THE MEANING OF THE SCENE

Where to look to understand the chaos, the anxiety, the conflict, the fear, the withdrawal, the anger; or if the answers can be found to help understand, will understanding help? Several principal issues are apparent from a review of current and recent literature on higher education. There is a noticeable void in two areas: philosophy and students.

DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY

The term philosophy has been so diluted in modern times as to mean any belief one holds about almost any issue, however incoherent. The literature is rampant with this type of shallow philosophical position on innumerable issues. What is so obviously lacking is coherent philosophical positions on the purpose and function of education in a democratic society. What is the relationship of education to democratic philosophy? To what degree does our political climate in the United States approximate or deviate from our avowed democratic principles? Are we suffering from a dilution or narrowing of the concept of democracy?

Democracy implies openness, a need for trust and collaboration, and working together for the betterment of all. How does the increase of control by the government in all spheres of American life enhance trust, openness, and collaboration? How does the imposition of power by the "fourth branch of government,"

the bureaucratic regulatory agencies, contribute to the democratic process?

Watergate seemed to be a crowning blow to democracy and its effect on the conditions which facilitate democratic functioning are having and will continue to have broad and deep ramifications for the American Culture. It is easy to blame it on the government, but in a democracy, the people are the government. The fault lies with all; "little watergates" exist everywhere in society. Democracy is more than a way of relating to one another, solving problems, and enjoying freedom. It is a set of values, attitudes, and feelings about "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." When the values, attitudes, and feelings change, so does the behavior. If a man changes his philosophy, he will also change the way he experiences life and the way he behaves. Inversely, observing behaviors can be a clue to philosophy. To what degree is society's behavior congruent with democratic philosophy as manifest in its laws and the functioning of its programs, agencies, and institutions?

A most astute observer of democracy in America, writing in the 1830's had some profound things to say; profound, because they seem as much or more relevant now than they were then. Alexis de Tocqueville said:

The evils which freedom sometimes brings with it are immediate; they are apparent to all, and all are more or less affected by them. The evils which extreme equality may produce are slowly disclosed; they creep gradually into the social frame; they are only seen at intervals, and at the moment at which they become most violent, habit already causes them to be no longer felt.

The advantages which freedom brings are only shown by length of time; and it is always easy to mistake the cause in which they originate. The advantages of equality are instantaneous, and they may constantly be traced from their source....

I think that democratic communities have a natural taste for freedom: left to themselves; they will seek it, cherish it, and view any privation of it with regret. But for equality their passion is ardent, insatiable, incessant, invincible; they call for equality in

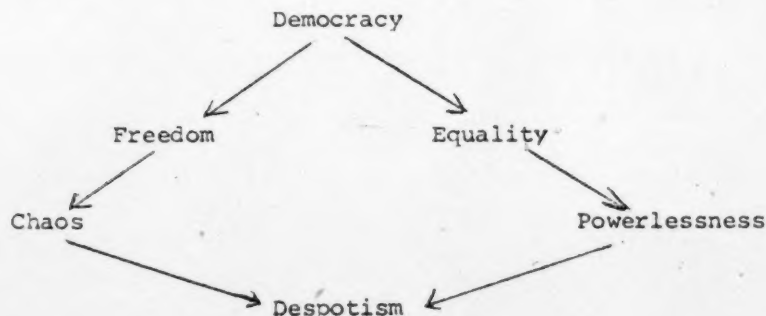
freedom; and if they cannot obtain that, they still call for equality in slavery. They will endure poverty, servitude, barbarism--but they will not endure aristocracy.

He also said:

Although men cannot become absolutely equal unless they be entirely free, and consequently equality, pushed to its furthest extent, may be confounded with freedom, yet there is good reason for distinguishing the one from the other. The taste which men have for liberty, and that which they feel for equality, are, in fact two different things; and I am not afraid to add, that, amongst democratic nations, they are two unequal things....

(de Tocqueville in Olsen, p. 189)

One way of graphically illustrating de Tocqueville's observations is shown below:



Alexis de Tocqueville postulated that the twin "passions" of freedom and equality are ever in disequilibrium in a democracy and to the degree that one or the other achieves dominance then democracy would collapse into despotism. For example, if freedom is pushed to the extreme, chaos results and a dictator is sought to bring order out of chaos. It is interesting to note a modern corollary of this. On C.B.S.'s "First Tuesday" in 1970, U.S. citizens who had toured Russia were asked what impressed them most. The overwhelming majority remarked about its peacefulness and cleanliness. The ability to walk in parks late at night without fear, the absence of trash, and the orderliness were mentioned. The program commentator indicated that the United States may be the first democratic country to vote itself into a fascist state because Americans love order more than they do freedom.

The second drive of Americans equality, is very much in evidence today in the government's tremendous support of equal rights, equal access, and equal opportunity. The condition of powerless that de Tocqueville indicated would follow equality pushed to the extreme is everywhere in evidence. Again de Tocqueville predicted the American people would select a dictator to bring action out of stagnation when such conditions prevailed for long.

The question of how to maintain the balance between freedom and equality was also addressed by de Tocqueville:

If each citizen did not learn, in proportion as he individually becomes more feeble and consequently more incapable of preserving his freedom single-handed, to combine with his fellow-citizens for the purpose of defending it, it is clear that tyranny would unavoidably increase together with equality. (de Tocqueville in Olsen, p.193)

In democratic countries the science of association is the mother of science; the progress of all the rest depends upon the progress it has made.

Amongst the laws which rule human societies there is one which seems to be more precise and clear than all others. If men are to remain civilized, or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve, in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased.... (de Tocqueville in Olsen, p. 195)

He had a bit of advice for governments that seems relevant today:

A government can no more be competent to keep alive and to renew the circulation of opinions and feelings amongst a great people, than to manage all the speculations of productive industry. No sooner does a government attempt to go beyond its political sphere and to enter upon this new track, than it exercises, even unintentionally, all insupportable tyranny; for a government can only dictate strict rules, the opinions which it favours are rigidly enforced, and it is never easy to discriminate between its advice and its commands.
(de Tocqueville in Olsen, p. 195)

Robert Nisbet makes a useful distinction between unitary and pluralistic democracy. He says of unitary democracy, "... a conception of political democracy must inevitable rest heavily upon the State and its formal agencies of function and control. Units of administration become, necessarily, atomistic individuals, conceived abstractly and divorced from the cultural contexts.

.... By omitting reference to the other authority-wielding and need-gratifying associations in society, by focusing on the abstract political mass, this view of the people becomes administratively committed at the outset to a potentially totalitarian view of the State." (Nisbet in Olsen, p. 196-197)

He says of pluralistic democracy, "... the state emerges as but one of the associations of man's existence. Equally important to a democratic theory founded on this perspective is the whole plurality of other associations in society." (Nisbet in Olsen, p. 197)

Nisbet shows that unitary democracy is present and on the increase in western democracies and is set in "conditions of social dislocation and moral alienation, stimulated by the demands of mass warfare..." He goes on to say

While we seek constantly to make democracy more secure in the world by diplomatic agreements and national security legislation, we do not often remind ourselves that the most powerful resources of democracy lie in the cultural allegiances of citizens, and that these allegiances are nourished psychologically in the smaller, internal areas of family, local community, and association.

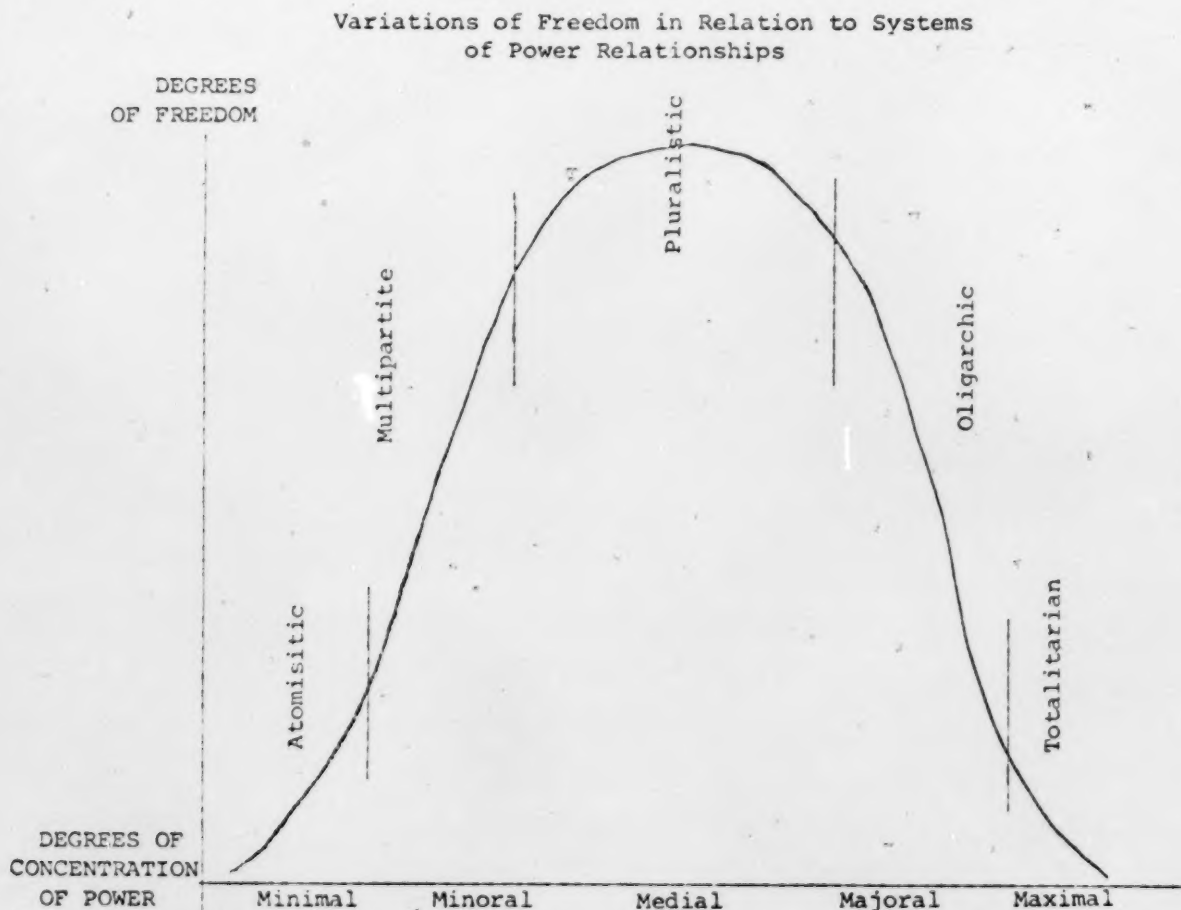
These are the areas that contain the images of the larger society, the areas within which human beings are able to define, and render meaningful, democratic values. When the small areas of association become sterile psychologically, as the result of loss of institutional significance, we find ourselves resorting to ever-increasing dosages of indoctrination from above, and indoctrination that often becomes totalitarian in significance. We find ourselves with a society that suffers increasingly from, to use the expressive words of Lamennais, apoplexy at the center and anemia at the extremities. To be sure, liberals strive earnestly to maintain the rights and equalities of individuals before the rising structure of legislative and executive political power. They appeal to the courts, but not even the American judicial system can remain for very long untouched by the drive toward political uniformity and centralization. They appeal to the right of man but, except in a religious sense which few liberals take seriously, there are no rights of man that do not proceed from the society in which human beings live. In any event, it is the liberal concentration of interest upon the individual, rather than upon the associations in which the individual exists, that serves, paradoxical as it may seem to intensify the processes that lead straight to increased governmental power...

(Nisbet in Olsen, p. 199 & 200)

Another social theorist has commented upon the concept of freedom in relation to social structure. Gerard DeGre' has said,

Inasmuch as the amount of power of any specific group is restricted by the social pressure which other groups can bring against it, it follows that a hyper-individualized or atomized society is in greater danger of falling under the dominance of the first organized group that comes along than is a society where various units of possible resistance already exist. A society split into too large a number of tiny conflicting groups, as well, will find it difficult to organize a significant opposition in case of need. On the other hand, when one or two groups have obtained control of the social structure, the resulting oligarchy is in a position to dominate the majority for its own purposes. The optimum condition for freedom, therefore, lies somewhere midway between totalitarianism at one extreme and atomized individualism at the other. (DeGre' in Olsen, p. 213)

DeGre' illustrates the relationship between structure and freedom via the bell shaped graph shown below:



(p. 214 of Olsen)

These concepts of democracy are important and helpful in examining the social currents at work in our society and their effect upon higher education. A concept used increasingly today is interdependence. Everything seems to be interdependent with everything else; yet no one seems to bother defining the concept. Interdependence is used as a rationalization for increasing centralization of decision making, bureaucratization, executive power, foreign policy decisions, prominence of multinational corporations, and coordinating boards of higher education. Interdependence without a philosophical framework can become one more cosmetological catchword in the rhetoric of increasing power in the hands of a few to make decisions about the lives of many. Interdependence in pluralistic democratic philosophy cannot mean "increasing controls because things are so interrelated." Interdependence is a dynamic, fluid concept; sometimes relations will be dependent, sometimes counterdependent and hardly, if ever, independent. A decision made anywhere in the system will have ramifications on all other aspects of the interdependent system.

Centralized decision making and control which seems to be on the rise and is dramatically effecting higher education fosters dependence, loss of trust, counterdependence (hostility), and a sense of helplessness (of not being involved or a part). How can any of these contribute to the socializing process of assisting men and women to function in a pluralistic democracy? Is it a dream?

STUDENTS

If the 60's provided a plethora of literature on students, the 70's have provided a dearth. None in the heat of the conflicts in higher education seem very concerned about what students think about all that is going on around

them. We seem to be at the point in the cycle of student models where the student is perceived as tabula rosa; a container to be filled; a passive piece of clay to be molded; at best, a naive, searching, motivated mind; at worst, a disinterested, unkempt, throwback in civilization. No one seems to have time for the students these days. When queried on the reason for no programs on the student at a national convention, one college administrator responded, "there are more important things to worry about now."

The few things that are written about students today seem more oriented to their quiescence and conformity, their vocational orientation, and their apathy and lack of involvement in governance. It tells little about their quality of life, their values, how they perceive their world, and their feelings. Few in the American society seem to be aware of the profound changes in college students today; most seem to feel only a sense of relief: "they aren't causing trouble on the campuses any longer." Herbert Hendin's excellent article in Change highlights some of the more dramatic dilemmas that college students confront today. He states that "the suicide rate among young men and women has risen by more than 250 percent over the past 20 years." and that drug abuse has become a way of life, a destructive problem in the lives of many young people. It is important to see drug abuse as a symptom and not a cause of problems. Millions of dollars have been expended trying to treat the symptom. Hendin also cites tremendous increase in hostility between the sexes which is adversely affecting the quality of their lives.

James Kunen was a student at Columbia University in the late 60's. He wrote the now famous, "The Strawberry Statement" to express what he felt and saw going on around him at Columbia. Hendin uses part of the statement to convey the complete sense of futility that some young people experience.

"My friends and I became preoccupied with the common nostalgic assertion that 'these are the best years of your lives.' We could accept the fact that the college years are exhausting, confusing, boring, troubled, frustrated, and meaningless--that we could take in stride; we'd seen hard times before. But that everything subsequent would be worse was a concept difficult to grasp and, once grasped, impossible to accept." (Hendin, p. 28 & 29)

Phillip Slater has written widely on some of the conditions which contribute to student concerns. In one article, he frames the problem in two cultures existing side by side in America--the old and the new. He says:

Sexual arousal is the most feared result of all. Old-culture Americans, in short are terrified of stimulation in any form (p.32) ... The fact that property takes precedence over human life in the old culture also follows logically from scarcity assumption... What is significant about the new culture is not a celebration of economic affluence but a rejection of its foundation. To accumulate possessions is to deliver pieces of oneself to dead things. Possessions can absorb an emotional cathexis, but unlike personal relationships they feed nothing back. Americans have combined the proliferation of possessions with the disruption, circumscription and trivialization of most personal relationships... The new culture's passion for memorabilia, paradoxically, causes uneasiness in old culture adherents, whose future-oriented invidiousness leads to a desire to sever themselves from the past. (Slater, p. 66)

In another publication exploring the phenomena of loneliness in the American culture, Slater makes the point,

When one observes that we devote the lion's share of our national budget to war and destruction, that capable scientists are tied up in biological and chemical warfare research that would make Frankenstein and his science-fiction colleagues look like Doctor Doolittle, we cannot avoid asking the question, do Americans hate life? Has there ever been a people who have destroyed so many living things? (Slater, p. 34)

David Shoup, a past Commandant of the United State Marine Corps has written an excellent article in Skolnick and Currie's, Crisis in American Institutions which gives ample documentation to Slater's point on the extreme amount of American energy which goes into the military effort.

All of this has a major impact on the most socially adept generation of college students America has produced. College students have experienced almost

every conceivable kind of social situation vicariously through television; they are the most widely traveled and the most widely read group to be in college to date. Many of them understand, all too well, what is going on around them and they are rejecting it in the form of new life styles.

... even those best able to be involved with work or another person are subject to what now amounts to a cultural pressure to experience all, to exploit others, and to evaluate what they do, think, and feel according to a standard of quantifiable, solitary gratification. In a culture that institutionalizes lack of commitment, it is very hard to be committed; in a nation that seems determined to strip sex of romance and tenderness, it is very hard to be a tender and faithful lover. We subject even young people who are most apt for life to an extraordinary pressure to be less than they are by idealizing the forces which are pulling them apart.

(Hendin, p. 29)

It would appear that those who say "the students are settling down; the students are more serious, ie., career minded; the students are back to enjoying their college days; that students don't care; that one can't talk of students as a whole--they must be treated individually; or that most students are working hard, implying that the few misfits around should be ignored," are missing the point that there is a student culture or a "new culture" existing in America. It is loosely held together as most large cultures are, but there are connections between the most distinctly different elements of the culture. Marijuana, a wide spread commodity used in the student culture is a symbol of community. Those who do not use it are not rejected and those who do not use it do not feel an obligation to report its use to officials. A sense of being in the same struggle exists. Other indicators of the student culture can be found in the lyrics of their music, in their art, and directly from them when sufficient time and interest have been invested to win their trust.

The use of Educational Testing Services' Institutional Goals Inventory in several studies reveals that Individual Personal Development is the number one educational goal of students today. The items on that particular goal of the instrument are indicators of the interests, motivations, and needs of the student culture.

1. to help students identify their own personal goals and develop means of achieving them.
2. to help students develop a sense of self-worth, self-confidence, and a capacity to have impact on events.
3. to help students achieve deeper levels of self-understanding.
4. to help students be open, honest, and trusting, in their relationships with others.

The goal can be criticized on the basis of being self-centered, narcissistic, self-indulgent, a-political, etc.; it nevertheless, is the highest priority among students against more traditional goal areas of: Academic Development, Intellectual Orientation, and Vocational Preparation. Who is listening to the students? How long will the establishment (government, education, military, industry, "the old culture," etc.) continue to tell students, in so many ways, that it knows best what students need? Who knows under the conditions of "future shock" what anyone else needs? Even the presumption of knowing is an affront to basic intelligence. When does society begin to listen to the most perceptive, sensitive evaluators of it--the young? They don't have the answers, but they may have a lot of the right questions.

OTHER ISSUES

When one considers overarching philosophy as providing direction and cohesiveness and students as the future of the society, then the intermediate mechanisms, distractions, and processes seem not as important. Yet, today

they seem totally time consuming. The intermediate processes are critical because process determines outcome. Also, the processes being used may not have much congruence with input on outcome when the system being dealt with is a philosophical one. History is full of stories regarding the prostitution of a national philosophy, often with the best intentions, by the functionaries of the system. Are the bureaucratic agencies of America capable of the same destructiveness?

Will the processes of control through regulations and coordinating boards assure the democratic functioning of higher education, or will it enhance its level of autocracy? Some would say this is an unimportant question because the whole of society has the responsibility of socializing people into the democracy. If this be true, specific examples of modeling behavior, democratic leadership, and concern for the welfare of people should be obvious in the institutions of America. Where are these quality examples of democratic functioning--in the military, in government, in corporations, in law enforcement?

College staffs have been blamed as of late for not taking the leadership in defending higher education, for not pioneering state and national planning for the direction and future of higher education. Probably the best institutional example of a pluralistic model of democracy has been higher education. Pluralism is a way of defending against power, against monolithic structure, against uniformity. Diversity has always been a strength of America; why is it suddenly a weakness? It is against the nature of a pluralistic association of organizations to organize themselves into a whole. If anything, it would appear, that the failure of educational leadership has been to defend its pluralism on democratic principles.

The issue of rising costs and declining resources has been cited as the reason for the current scene in higher education. This seems to have more credibility than any other single reason for the confusion going on in higher education. On September 22, 1975, the Chronicle of Higher Education ran a lead story titled, "Politics, Not Formulas, Now Cutting Budgets." The article suggested that state officials were becoming much more involved in higher education as the economy continued to be sluggish. Robert Berdahl, a strong advocate of statewide planning and coordination in his book, State-wide Coordination of Higher Education, is quoted in the Chronicle article as saying, "Some institutional presidents have privately admitted that because of their relations with faculty, students, trustees, and alumni, they were forced to take public positions critical of a program-discontinuation process, whereas, in fact they very much welcomed getting some external leverage to help them crack open entrenched internal positions." (Politics, Not Formulas, Now Cutting Budgets, p. 1)

He went on to add that the biggest share of the colleges concern over program cutbacks were valid. One suspects that what will be remembered is Berdahl's bias toward coordination and not his sympathy with the colleges.

No one can deny the devastating effect that inflation and recession have had on every sector of the nation and no one can deny that higher education has had its excesses just as every other institution, but is a controlled system of higher education the best approach to keep colleges vital places of learning? Some examples of the cost of bureaucratic controls and regulations:

1. Cost of planning, control, and evaluation of programs
Sen. William Proxmire charged last week that the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Speech Communication Association had squandered two million dollars on overhead costs for the Bicentennial Youth Debates while only 150,000 dollars was raised for educational awards for college and high school students. ... The endowment said its two million

dollar grant was to be used over a three-year period for planning and organizing the program..."

(Chronicle of Higher Education, Mar. 29, 1976)

2. Office of Civil Rights - affirmative action plans

One of the costs which cannot be computed is the cost to the welfare of the entire enterprise of the diversion of administrators' time to the gathering of information which precedes the reports. Direct costs such as additional clerical personnel and supervisors of affirmative action plans are easily counted, but indirect costs such as loss of time and the focus of effort cannot be. ... As chancellor of the State University System of Florida, I was involved as a defendant in 54 lawsuits at the time I left office. We had four lawyers plus several staff members who spent almost full time in hearings connected with potential unionization. These hearings were preliminary to a determination of bargaining units ... As late as 1970, I had no budget for attorneys and relied upon those furnished by another department of the state government. In 1975 I believe we budgeted \$200,000 for lawyers' fees in my office alone. ... each university had access to its own lawyer. The larger ones had two or three full-time lawyers on their staffs.

(Robert B. Mautz, letter to the Editor, Change, April 1976, p. 6)

'Affirmative Action' advertising, federally imposed on the colleges and universities is now estimated to cost institutions at least six million dollars a year... (Bonham, p.11)

3. Total dollar costs

This year's total cost to higher educational institutions of federally mandated programs alone is estimated by Change at \$2 billion--or the equivalent of the total of all voluntary giving to institutions of higher education.

(Bonham, p. 10)

4. Indirect Costs

For an excellent article on the indirect costs, which may be a far greater evil than the total costs in the long run, see Earl Cheit's excellent article in the November, 1975 issue of Change: "What Price Accountability."

Can the Nation afford this kind of accountability? David Henry has said that the "seeming general disenchantment with the Establishment," "economic insecurity," and a "lower priority for education" has produced the "cry for accountability." He attributes the lower priority for education as a result of

"the attack on credentialism, disillusionment over campus violence and faculty abuse of professional standards, and rising concern over welfare and medical security..." He goes on to say, "From this background and related factors has come cry for accountability ...demand for accountability. (Henry, p. 288) Henry quotes Charles Hitch who has had experience with the Rand Corporation and the Department of Defense as saying, "...it is much more difficult to apply systems analysis to an educational enterprise than it is either to a business or the Department of Defense. There are just terribly important intangibles you cannot measure." (Henry, p. 289)

The issue of research of higher education; its measurement and evaluation is another area in which educators are faulted, thus necessitating the need for such things as state planning and coordination, the National Institute of Education, and an alternative to accrediting associations. Hitch's remark above presents the problem of systems analysis. With regard to testing, Charles Collins has posed the question, "Are we not measuring that which happens to be measurable rather than that which is significant?" (Collins in O'banion and Thurston, p. 13) Many supporters of increased state coordination of higher education say that because all of the important variables, particularly the qualitative ones, cannot be measured is no excuse to postpone evaluation efforts. They propose starting with measuring that which can be measured. The problem with this approach is, that which is measured tends to become that which is important. The result is that all of the qualitative indices of higher education are relegated to the level of insignificance.

An issue related to the measurement and cost issue is efficiency. A very interesting study by Raymond Callahan, published as, "Education and the Cult of Efficiency," focuses principally upon the development of business practices in the public schools. The author states that there are parallels with develop-

ments in higher education--maybe more than he realized. Callahan concluded after his study was completed:

When I began this study some five years ago, my intent was to explore the origin and development of the adoption of business values and practices in educational administration. My investigation revealed that this adoption had started about 1900 and had reached the point, by 1930, that, among other things, school administrators perceived themselves as business managers, or, as they would say, "school executives" rather than as scholars and educational philosophers.

What was unexpected was the extent, not only of the power of the business-industrial groups, but of the strength of the business ideology in the American culture on the one hand and the extreme weakness and vulnerability of schoolmen, especially school administrators, on the other. I had expected more professional autonomy and I was completely unprepared for the extent and degree of capitulation by administrators to whatever demands were made upon them. I was surprised and then dismayed to learn how many decisions they made or were forced to make, not on educational grounds, but as a means of appeasing their critics in order to maintain their positions in the school.... Evidence presented in this study shows that such a method of operation does not necessarily result in "meeting the needs of the community" and it often results in an abdication of responsibility for educational leadership.... I think the evidence presented in this study indicates that it is time we began to take a hard and realistic look at our patterns of local support and control. These arrangements are supposed to protect us from the tyranny of an all-powerful central government and to provide the opportunity for local initiative and experimentation.... So long as schoolmen have a knife poised at their financial jugular vein each year, professional autonomy is impossible.... To grant autonomy to poorly educated schoolmen would be dangerous; to produce highly qualified individuals and then place them in a weak, insecure, vulnerable position is senseless. (Callahan, p. VII-IX)

Much of Callahan's conclusions seem to relate to the kinds of issues which have been evolving in higher education. No one could suggest complete autonomy for higher education even under a democratic philosophy, but it would appear that higher education needs sufficient autonomy to be accountable for its efficiency. If not, the accountability belongs at the level where standards of efficiency are being set. If higher education is to go the direction of the once creatively conceived comprehensive high school,

then it may collapse in the absence of compulsory attendance laws for higher education. On the other hand, a highly efficient system of higher education could be implemented which would be so ineffective then many would not want to attend, thus solving the cost problem.

"Since efficiency is a relationship between means and ends, it cannot be usefully considered until the ends are clearly defined." (Bowen, p. 194) Efficiency as it is being implemented today is most clearly an issue of implementing means. The goals, global and pervasive, are set at a much higher level. Colleges and universities seem to be trusted with means and not goals. Bowen has said, "Today interest centers more on cutting expenditures than raising quality." (Bowen, p. 195) In fact, the implementation of means established externally for the purposes of efficiency will do more to reduce quality rather than to stabilize it, let alone raise it. Callahan makes this point well.

Efficiency and economy--important as they are--must be considered in the light of the quality of education that is being provided. Equally important is the inefficiency and false economy of forcing educators to devote their time and energy to cost accounting. We must learn that saving money through imposing an impossible teaching load on teachers is, in terms of the future of our free society, a very costly practice.... We must face the fact that there is no cheap, easy way to educate a human being and that a free society cannot endure without educated men.

(Callahan, p. 263 & 264)

One final question on the efficiency issues is: How is it that the whole modern systems approach to efficiency in government which started in the name of cost cutting, reducing duplication, and waste, has saved no money for the Department of Defense? Can we afford to be as efficient in all other agencies and institutions of society?

CHANGING THE SCENE

Maybe the first place to start with changing the scene is dealing with some of the public, and not so public, myths which affect higher education. Howard Bowen has done just that in an article, "Manpower Management and Higher Education," which should be required reading for anyone having anything to do with policy development in higher education. He lists eight misconceptions of higher education and discusses each. The eight are:

1. The economy requires a more or less fixed inventory of occupational skills at each stage in its evolution.
2. The character of the economy and its skill requirements can be predicted for periods long enough to be pertinent to educational planning?
3. An expanding technology will lead to increasing unemployment, with eventually, only a fraction of the labor force fully employed.
4. Technological change is rapidly accelerating; whereas it may not have led to unemployment in the past, it will do so in the future.
5. People in the foreseeable future will enjoy vast amounts of leisure, and education should be directed toward leisure rather than labor.
6. Unemployment is widespread among educated people.
7. The market for educated workers should be conceived solely as a national market.
8. The basic purpose of education is to prepare people for quite specific jobs; it is somehow wrong or wasteful to provide an education that will not be used directly in a vocation.

(Bowen, p. 6-9)

Beyond dealing with these myths, Bowen discusses some moral considerations in higher education's dilemma. Some of his major points are:

Central planning of the educational system, which implies rationing places in various programs, is not only unnecessary but most certainly harmful. ... Free choice of subjects for study and free choice of vocations are among the most sacred human freedoms. ... One can have at least as much faith in students--as they respond to their interests and to prospective labor market conditions--as in bureaucratic manpower planners. (Bowen, p. 11 & 12)

Besides a plea for understanding, for open dialogue of the issues, each side, government and education must admit their abuses and clean house. For example, Moynihan cites the Congressional Record.

One of the unique achievements of American higher education in the past century has been the standard of excellence that its leading institutions have set. The most serious threat posed by the present fiscal plight of higher education is the possible loss of that excellence. ... it is past time the Federal government acknowledged its own responsibility for bringing about, through the forms of support it has given and the conditions of that support, a serious distortion of the activities of our centers of academic excellence. For three decades now the Federal government has been hiring universities to do work it wanted done. In far the greatest measure, this work has been in the national interest, and the nation is in the debt of those universities that have so brilliantly performed it. But the time has come for the Federal government to help academic communities to pursue excellence and reform in fields of their own choosing as well, and by means of this own choice.

(Moynihan in American Higher Education: Toward an Uncertain Future, Vol. II, p. 138)

The shortcomings of higher education have been well publicized lately and will not be repeated here. What does need to be explored, if higher education is to become more systematic, are some conditions necessary for the effective functioning of that system. Systems planning and management is but a further refinement of bureaucratic structure and functioning. As Weber pointed out a long time ago, bureaucracy is the most efficient and effective means of processing information and completing a task. It is necessary to expand the concept of a system of higher education beyond this rather narrow view, for systems of people are also quite dependent on the prevailing ideas, values, attitudes, and feelings of the people in the system. The system concept must be large enough to incorporate the autocratic processing of routine data and tasks by a bureaucratic mechanism; a participatory aspect which allows for consensual processing of ideas, opinions, and feelings by the participants in the system; and a conflict management mechanism for the negotiation of real, important, and vital clashes of interest. John Gardner speaks eloquently to

this point.

There is a mistaken conception of efficiency that sees pluralistic approaches as wasteful and confusing. The need for efficiency is not to be laughed off, of course. In a grim world, free societies must prove their capacity to function efficiently. Extremes of pluralism can lead to utter confusion. But creative organizations or societies are rarely tidy. Some tolerance for inconsistencies, for profusion of purposes and strategies, and for conflict is the price of freedom and vitality.

Quite as important as the tradition of dispersed power is the tradition of tolerance and intellectual freedom. This permits a pluralism of beliefs, a tolerance of differing traditions and a diversity of intellectual positions that have contributed greatly to the vitality of our national life.

(Gardner, p. 86)

In brief, a systems approach to higher education cannot be built upon efficiency alone without degrading it. Stephen Bailey has written that the state has a right to defend itself but that the "paradox of democracy is that if, in exercising that right, the guardians of the state mute the state's critics, they have simultaneously destroyed the democratic state itself." (Bailey, p. 6) There is no substitute for the need to draw upon democratic philosophy as the frame of reference for high level decisions in America. Care must be taken that the mechanisms and processes implemented to serve that philosophy do not dilute it. Higher education and government are but two of the important institutions of America. They are highly interdependent; for one to abuse the other cannot be in the best interest of democracy. There must exist a special trust between higher education and government. It has been there in the past; it must be reestablished.

Students must be brought to the fore as the reason for being of educational institutions. As psychologist Richard Farson said in a talk in 1972, "What we need in this country is a Disneyland Revolution, for the kids are the only ones really being ripped off." Although higher education does not deal with "kids," it has no less responsibility for being a stabilizing ray of hope

for a promising future for those who seek its resources. In support of this ideal of higher education, it is interesting to note that in times of economic hardship in this country, enrollment has increased in higher education. Where else are people to turn for hope and a feeling of achievement in such times?

The cliché is often used to students, "you are the future of this country." If that is believed, then students should become full partners in the adventure of learning. Hopefully this will be done before such a relationship is established by force of law through consumer legislation. The assumption that the professional judgement and competence of people at the coordinating board level is of a higher order than that at the campus or department level of a college needs to be challenged. The tremendous increase in power, potential or real, mask the whole difficult problem of the measurement of the quality of education. Such power could very subtly skew the value issue, "that which is worthy of study," from an individual pursuit to a governmental dictation.

The perennial problem of funding might be solved by federal legislation creating a basic educational entitlement for all citizens along the same idea of the G.I. Bill. Additionally, heavy federal support should be given to the universities involved in expensive programs which are of great importance to society. The most obvious example is the various allied health graduate schools. Some mechanism for the awarding of research grants to the research universities should be established. All of society is dependent upon the development of new knowledge. Much greater financial support for innovative programs needs to be made available, even to the extent of the planning and development spread over a number of years, a few model universities and colleges in the country.

The states should continue their strong support of higher education and with a increased assist from the federal government seek to keep tuition costs as low as possible for students. If tuition costs are allowed to rise, then students pay the price twice for their education--once in foregone income and once in tuition. The living standard of the average, independent, full-time college student is already well below the poverty level.

Higher education is an incredibly important resource to America. To dilute its excellence, to restrict its academic freedom and freedom of inquiry, to undermine its financial or moral support, or to burden it with increased control will result in long term damage to both the institutions of higher education and to society. "Restraint, one needs reminding, is still the only guarantor of the survival of democratic institutions."

(Bonham, p. 61)

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